DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 273 376 PS 016 001

AUTHOR De Wit, Jan; Keats, D. M.
TITLE Values: Relations and Implications. Symposium V C.
PUB DATE [84]
NOTE 22p.; In "Preparation for Adulthood. Third Asian Workshop on Child and Adolescent Development"; see PS 015 978.
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adolescents; *Child Rearing; *Coping; Cultural Differences; Foreign Countries; *Modernization; Moral Development; Research Problems; Sex Differences; *Socialization; Traditionalism; *Values
IDENTIFIERS *Asia; Kohlberg (Lawrence); Westernization

ABSTRACT

Reported at a symposium generally concerned with values and adolescents are discussions of (1) socialization issues and the impact of values on adolescents, and (2) dimensions of Asian youths' confrontation with the problem of modernization. In the first study (by Jan de Witt), the conceptual shift in socialization research to a focus on authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, and neglecting parenting styles is pointed out. With respect to the conceptual changes, two questions are raised. The first deals with the problem of cross-cultural validity of the outcomes of socialization research; the second refers to the effects of biases in models and concepts on thinking about development. Discussion of the ways developmental theories are constructed is based on Kohlberg's theory of the development of moral judgments. Concluding remarks focus on implications for developmental theory of Gilligan's (1982) identification of two types of moral language and on implications of the conceptual changes in relation to adolescent development in a changing culture. In the second study (by D.M. Keats of Australia), a list of characteristics of modernization is presented and supplemented by discussions of technology and values, effects of technological and cultural change on adolescents, and skills for coping with modernization. Concluding remarks concern curriculum revision, the introduction of personal development programs in high schools, and the provision of student counseling services as ways to help students cope. (RH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED273376

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☒ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

SYMPOSIUM V C : Values: Relations and Implications

CHAIRPERSON *Associate Professor Hulman Sinaga*

RAPPORTEUR *Mrs. Eshah Hj Abdullah*

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Chiam Heng Keng

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

PS 016001

Adolescence: Socialisation Issues and the Impact of Values

Jan de Wit

Some issues that are related to the socialisation process in adolescence will be considered in this paper. By giving two examples from recent literature, some changes in the concepts that are used in socialisation-research generally and in the moral development domain particularly are discussed. With respect to these conceptual changes, two questions of special importance are raised. The first deals with the problem of cross-cultural validity of the outcomes of socialisation-research; the second refers to the rather complicated problem in which built-in biases in our models and concepts of human development can influence our thinking on development. Finally, observations are made with respect to the possible implications of these new developments in relation to our conception of adolescent development in a changing culture.

In order to demonstrate some changes in our conceptualisation of styles of parenting, reference is made to the early work (around 1960) on parental characteristics. Very well known are the models designed by Schaefer (1959) and Becker (1964) who ordered parental behaviour in terms of a fourfold typology of parenting based on two major dimensions. The dimensions are:

(1) warmth/love – hostility/rejection; and
(2) restrictiveness/control – permissiveness/autonomy.

This categorisation was derived from the child-rearing studies during the 1950s.

However, concepts concerning the salient dimensions of parenting have undergone considerable change since the publication of the above works.

This is due partly to the more sophisticated research methods e.g. observations of parent-child interactions which produced more specific data and perhaps because of some factual changes in parenting styles under the influence of the so-called Zeitgeist i.e. changing social or economic conditions. Reviewing the recent research findings, Maccoby and Martin (1983) arrive at a more differentiated dimensional picture of parenting styles as shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Interactions in the Consequences of Warmth Versus Hostility and Restrictiveness Versus Permissiveness

Dimensions	Restrictiveness	Permissiveness
	Submissive, dependent, polite, neat, obedient (Levy)	Active, socially outgoing, creative, successfully aggressive (Baldwin)
Warmth	Minimal aggression (Sears)	Minimal rule enforcement, boys (Maccoby)
	Maximum rule enforcement, boys (Maccoby)	Facilitates adult role taking (Levin)
	Dependent, not friendly, not creative (Watson)	Minimal self-aggression, boys (Sears)
	Maximal compliance (Meyers)	Independent, friendly, creative, low projective hostility (Watson)
	'Neurotic' problems (clinical studies)	Delinquency (Gluecks, Bandura and Walters)
Hostility	More quarrelling and shyness with peers (Watson)	Non-compliance (Meyers)
	Socially withdrawn (Baldwin)	Maximal aggression (Sears)
	Low in adult role taking (Levin)	
	Maximal self-aggression, boys (Sears)	

Source. Becker (1964), p. 198.

The first dimension of parenting behaviour is accepting/responsive/child-centred versus rejecting/unresponsive/parent-centred. The second dimension is demanding/controlling versus undemanding/[illegible] undemanding/low in control attempts. These more recent conceptualisations are interesting in many respects.

The first dimension is whether parental responsiveness is considered as contingent reinforcement ('shaping' the child by responding differentially to desired and undesired behaviour) or merely as parental sensitivity and adaptation to the child's signals, states and needs. This concept differs considerably not only from that of warmth which includes affection or praise when they are given contingently but also when they are given on the parent's impulse regardless of the concurrent state, signals and behaviour of the child. It is quite clear that this shift shows that more attention is paid now to the interactive aspects of the socialisation-process.

Table 2
A Two-Dimensional Classification of Parenting Patterns

Dimensions	Accepting Responsive Child-centred	Rejecting Unresponsive Parent-centred
Demanding, controlling	Authoritative-reciprocal High in bi-directional communication	Authoritarian, power assertive
Undemanding, low in control attempts	Indulgent	Neglecting, ignoring, different, uninvolved

Also, the control/autonomy dimension is redefined. The work of Baumrind can be used to exemplify that dimensions like consistent discipline and maturity demands turn out to be important ones. In fact, concepts as parental demand and parental involvement have merged as parental characteristics that are worthy of attention.

The four new parenting styles that Maccoby and Martin have conceptualised in detail will not be discussed. However, focus is on the authoritative – reciprocal pattern of parenting as it has been formulated by Baumrind (1975) since this pattern is considered to be the most successful parent behaviour in western societies.

The pattern of authoritative parenting includes:

(1) expectation for mature behaviour from the children;
(2) firm enforcement of rules and standards, using commands and sanctions when necessary;
(3) encouragement of independence and individuality;
(4) open communication between parents and children – exchange of viewpoints between parents and children; and
(5) recognition of rights of both parents and children.

This combination of high demand and high responsiveness appears to be related postively to high levels of competence in social contacts in children.

Another way to summarise the most important facets of a more successful socialisation process as it is derived from current research findings is as follows (see Rutter, 1983):

(1) A sense of security in children seems more likely to develop when parents are sensitive to their children's cues and responsive to their needs. This emotional security is necessary to move away both physically and socially – i.e. developing other relationships outside the family.
(2) Another facet is the provision of learning experiences. Children learn from their experiences and the provision of appropriate experiences turns out to be an important part of the education process. ('Appropriate' in the sense of an existing need for active and meaningful experiences.) In our western culture, this implies that we have moved from an era in which parenting was conceived in terms of doing things *to* children, to one in which we see it as doing things *with* children. The importance of reciprocity has been stressed in order to provide children with a varied set of life experience.
(3) Discipline is another facet. It is fairly beneficial to have well recognised social conventions and rules. There is nothing to be gained by ambiguity or by having to renegotiate the rules all the time. A very important aspect of discipline lies in the preventive and structure-providing aspects that are connected with it.
(4) There are several factors related to the development of morality, namely, the general background of family relationships, modelling effects and the development of moral judgements. Practising moral values, however, does not only rely on moral judgments but also for a considerable part dependent on acquired social-problem-solving skills i.e. of the ability to develop alternative ways of reacting to difficult situations.

It is obvious that the impact of education *within* the family is interrelated with the cultural setting in which families function. The question which parental styles will prove to be the most adapative can only be answered in relation to more general societal conditions. Maccoby and Martin (1983) gave a few interesting suggestions that could explain which kind of social conditions could determine whether a certain style of parenting would be more or less adequate. According to them, the following points are worthy of consideration:

(1) Degree of congruence between a given family's values and expectations and those of other parents in the society.

(2) Degree of social surveillance which children are subject to, both inside and outside the home.
(3) Degree to which a child's future depends on the approval of parents and other members of the adult generation.

From this, speculations made are (1) when there are no society-wide standards taken for granted by everyone and/or when there are many things changing in rapid speed, it seems very important to develop a style of parenting that will foster children's self regulation; and (2) when there is a high degree of congruence and social surveillance, other styles of socialisation could be more appropriate.

With respect to adolescents, however, it seems justified to state that in a great variety of cultures, they will have to face a great amount of changes during a rather short period. In this respect, the impact of individual parental characteristics on the development of adolescents should not be underestimated. Despite the adolescent's striving for independence, there is – even in western culture – a considerable continuity in the relationships between the adolescent with his parents and an acceptance of their values. Discrepancy between parental norms and peer norms is far from a necessity, as many research outcomes show. The interesting research findings reported by Keats and Wan Rafaei (1982) underline that parents have the most important position as 'referent others' to adolescents. A very important point raised in their cross-cultural research is that the position of parents varies more with respect to the different topics of behaviour which the adolescents were asked about than with respect of nationality. Rankings of referent others varied more by question content than by cultural background.

To get more insight into this type of relationships, we are in need of more research findings that can inform us which socialisation variables are influential and adaptive to prepare adolescents for the future. In western societies, mutual goodwill between parents and adolescents seems to be a very important factor.

How do we define this for other societies? Despite the progress in getting more nuanced concepts and findings, we are still making very global generalisations stemming partly from very global research questions. Even at this global level, we have to ask whether these generalisations are valid for other cultures, other times or other social groups.

Since children and adolescents learn to adapt behaviourally to the specific demands of the various settings they are in, we should pay particular attention to the further development of research methods that are suited to observe parent-child interactions in a variety of settings. It is important to see how the adaptation-process develops in interaction with the specific demands of a situation. In this respect, the new trend in socialisation research, with its emphasis on the careful observation of interactions within the family, is a promising one (see Patterson, 1982).

In order to discuss the way we construct our developmental theories, the theory of the development of moral judgements as it is presented by Kohlberg and associates is taken as an example. Kohlberg distinguishes three levels of moral judgment, subdivided into six stages. The three levels are pre-conventional, conventional and post-conventional. It is suggested that there is a development from a more ego-centric way of reasoning *via* more conformistic approaches to an ability to conceptualise justice and virtue in an abstract generalised mode. According to Kohlberg, these last two stages are rarely seen in the general population.

Two of Kohlberg's most important claims are that the stages are universal and that their sequence is invariant. His work has generated considerable controversy. Some authors have asked for more evidence concerning the relationship of moral judgement to behaviour. Others have wondered if the development of moral reasoning should be placed at the centre of moral education projects. Others have asked either for better documentation of scoring methods (Rest, 1979) or have questioned the validity of postulating such global stage-concepts (Flavell, 1982).

As indicated earlier on, Kohlberg claims universality for his system. This means that the stages should be found in all cultures and groups, and that they should develop in the same fixed order for everyone everywhere. Development should always proceed in a forward direction, from a lower stage to the next higher stage, without skipping any intermediate stage.

Both claims are challenged by several research outcomes. Firstly, the evidence for sequentiality applies only to Kohlberg's lower stages. Secondly, at least some of Kohlberg's stages i.e. the higher ones (5 and 6 or 4, 5 and 6) have only been found in some of the groups studied. Although in the most recent publication of his associates (Colby, Kohlberg, Gibbs and Lieberman, 1983), many of these arguments have been analysed and some research evidence in favour of his position presented, the general conclusion is that the discussion with respect to the earlier mentioned cultural differences is yet to be settled.

We now focus our attention on those aspects of Kohlberg's theory that are most crucial for comparative study of moral and social development. With respect to the validity of Kohlberg's theory in general, the following positions can be taken:

(1) the cultural differences result from poor operationalisations and from poor testing procedures;
(2) the cultural differences result from variations in social experiences; and
(3) the cultural differences result from a bias build into the conceptualisation of the theory which is reflected in the definitions of the stages (cf. Edwards, 1981).

Discussion is now focused on the last two positions indicated above since they are, in my opinion, most essential for our thinking on the validity of our developmental theories. In particular, the last position could generate a new set of questions for theories of human development.

We have discussed several styles of parenting and their dependence on influences from the wider society. According to the theory of the development of moral judgments, the social stimulus for moral development can be defined as any kind of role-taking opportunity that is an experience which encourages the child to take a social perspective in a better-balanced and more reciprocal way. Role-taking opportunities become available to the child through participation in the family group, the peer group and eventually the wider society.

According to research from our technological and bureaucratic western society, the most successful parents are expected to be those verbal and overtly rational people who encourage warm and close relations with children and who foster discussions oriented towards reasoned understanding of moral issues and towards a fair consideration of everyone's viewpoint. However, this type of family is not the cultural ideal in many other societies. This raises at least a few critical questions (Edwards, 1982).

(1) Does this type of parenting predict moral judgment development in other societies?
(2) Have some cultures developed completely different strategies through which parents provide their children with role-taking opportunities? Are these strategies more or less successful as the western ones are supposed to be?

Hypotheses derived from this type of thinking must be investigated before we can claim to understand parental and other influences on moral judgment development from a universal human perspective.

However, the third position is the most intriguing because it raises very fundamental questions. These questions are in line with arguments given by several participants in the Second Asian Workshop (Heng-Keng Chiam, 1982) who in her apt critique of the Kohlberg system stated that it is most likely that Asians will employ other principles to resolve moral conflicts. She is therefore justified in asking for a critical evaluation of concepts which are included in a developmental theory like Kohlberg's which is an example of an occidental way of thinking.

A critical evaluation of this type of concepts is worthwhile not only in cross-cultural research but also with respect to investigations *within* a culture, especially when there are rapid changes in a culture or when there are differences between groups that had not been studied before. In this respect, reference is made to a way of thinking introduced by Carol Gilligan (1982) in which she states that the question 'whether current

developmental theories can be applied to understanding or assessing the lives of people who differ from those upon whose experience these theories were based' will only introduce a problem of far greater magnitude, i.e. the adequacy of current theories themselves'. She makes her point more specifically by asking whether criteria for development derived from studies of males can be used to measure the development of females.

Her investigations provide interesting conclusions and answers given by young adolescents on the so-called Heinz dilemma – the story involving the stealing of a drug in order to help to cure a dying woman whose husband was too poor to purchase the drug – are indicated. In this presentation, it is not possible to report extensively the answers given by many of the female respondents she had interviewed and by two 11 year-old children, a boy and a girl, whom she considers to be a representative sample.

However, from the general outcome of her questioning, it appears that two very different moral problems can be noticed and that two fundamentally different approaches can be used in the same dilemma. The boy's approach is oriented to justice and rights, and his judgments are very easily scored on Kohlberg's scale. The girl's responses are oriented to care and responsiveness to others, and her judgments are easily misunderstood by using the Kohlberg scheme. The boy is perceiving a conflict between life and property that can be resolved by logical deduction. The girl perceives a fracture of human relationships that must be mended with its own thread. The arrangement of these answers as successive stages on one scale misses, according to Gilligan, the different truths revealed in the judgement of the girl.

The conclusion from this type of analysis is that in our current developmental theories, there is a strong tendency to consider development as a process of separation and individuation. On the other side, the understanding of development as a progress of human relationships and expanding connections is an underdeveloped approach.

Gilligan identifies two different moral languages, the language of rights that protects separation and the language of responsibilities that sustains connections. In a dialogue, these languages reveal how the dynamics of separation and attachment in the process of identity formation relate to the themes of justice and care in moral growth. The question behind this type of reasoning is that our visions of maturity and adulthood, and our culturally-embeded ideals are relevant for our assumptions about the criteria we use to describe the sequences of human development.

What are the conclusion that we can draw from these two examples with respect to the socialisation process in a changing culture? Certainly, we can say that in western culture, partly as a result of new research-findings and also as a consequence of changing societal viewpoints, new trends in the conceptualisation of the socialisation process can be dis-

cerned. The consequence of these shifts is that it must lead either to asking new questions or to putting the same questions in a different way. Which are the right questions we have to ask today in order to get a better understanding of the developmental process? By overemphasising certain aspects and by neglecting others, we can give a distorted picture of how development proceeds or should proceed.

Let me just give a few examples. The extreme emphasis in western education on the separation aspect of the individuation process could be conceived as one of the possible causes of the feelings of alienation we sometimes see in adolescents. Conger (1982) recently stated that the rise of the nuclear family, decreased economic interdependence and a greater emphasis on defining life stages, are connected with a greater concern for people as *individuals* rather than primarily as necessary members of a collective effort. These hypotheses have to be evaluated critically. Greater self-realisation and self-awareness can be positive goals but without responsibility and concern for others, it is not possible to realise one's self. Self-realisation is not synonymous with self-indulgence. It is just an indication how critical we have to be with respect to the conceptual schemes we are using.

Achieving a sense of identity is obviously an important developmental task but maturity also requires the development of a capacity for intimacy and what Erikson calls 'generativity' – satisfaction gained from contributing to the development of others and particularly the younger generations. This point is stressed with reasons. In our clinical practice with adolescents in the Netherlands, we not only meet adolescents with a variety of identity problems, dropping out from school and so on. We also see parents who have severe problems in fulfilling their own developmental tasks i.e. taking responsibility for their offspring. These parents sometimes force their youngsters to leave home, not being able to sustain any satisfactory relationship at all.

On the other side of the picture, the newer formulations of the more appropriate parenting styles certainly add new dimensions and give new perspectives concerning how to deal with adolescents who are growing up in a rapidly changing world. Aspects of responsiveness and sensitivity to signals are very important.

Research done on aggression within family settings gives interesting suggestions as to how neglect of or attention to signals is crucial in creating a family climate. Aggresive children, for example, are less responsive to social reinforcements. Sensitivity for signals communicated by so many 'important others' seems to be one of the most important skills useful to adolescents. It is justified to consider adolescence as a period during which many new capacities emerge and existing capacities increase. This is not only apparent in the cognitive field where cognitive skills are becoming more powerful because of a higher level of abstraction and more flexibility

in reasoning. The same must be said with respect to social and emotional skills.

However, it is obvious that these important changes do not develop spontaneously. They have to be learned and experienced in interaction with other people. All of us have to learn, relearn and unlearn constantly – the last being the most difficult. Therefore, it is quite revealing to adolescents to realise that by altering one's one's behaviour and by being more sensitive to the signals sent out by others, one can also alter the consequences of one's behaviour i.e. the interactions with other people. It is always revealing that much of the so-called deviant or delinquent behaviour can be conceptualised as being due to inadequate and maladaptive skills. Hence programmes aimed at the promotion of social skills of these groups of youngsters make sense indeed. This underlines again the necessity to investigate which strategies of coping will be the most adaptive in which society. Certainly, the learning processes within the family are to be considered as a very important preparation for future life because of the continuity of this category of influences.

In closing, the following conclusions are made:

(1) With respect to the outcomes of socialisation research, we should not only take into consideration the adaptive value of certain patterns of parenting in relation with the values of the society and the cultural setting they live in. We should also be aware of the possibility that our developmental paradigms may have some built-in biases which prevent us from asking the right questions.

(2) Our insight in the adaptive qualities of parent-child interactions will be fostered by using research methods investigating the interactional processes within the family. This type of research will prevent us from making too global generalisations and will give us, at the same time, helpful tools for the development of intervention programmes.

REFERENCES

Baumrind, D, 'Earlu socialization and adolescent competence', in S.E. Dragastin and G.H. Elder eds., *Adolescence in the life cycle: psychological change and social context*, New York, Wiley, 1975.

Chiam, Heng-Keng, 'Moral development and moral education: a critique of Kohlberg's theory of moral development', *Proceedings of Second Asian Workshop on Child and Adolescent Development*, Bangkok, 1982.

Colby, A and others, 'A longitudinal study of moral judgment', *Monography Society for Research in Child Development*, serial no. 200, 1983.

Conger, J.J., 'Freedom and commitment: families, youth and social change', *American Psychologist*, v. 36, 1981, p. 1475–84.

Edwards, C.P, 'The comparative study of the development of moral judgement and reasoning', in R.H. Munroe, R.L., Munroe and B.B. Whiting eds., *Handbook of cross-cultural human development*, New York, Garland Press, 1981.

Flavell, J.H, 'Structures, stages and sequences in cognitive development', in W.A. Collins ed., *The concept of development: the Minnesota symposia on child psychology*, v. 15, Hillsdale, Erlbaum Publishers, 1982.

Gilligan, C., *In a different voice*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1982.

——, 'New maps of development: new visions of maturity', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 52, 1982, p. 199–212.

Keats, J.A. and others, 'Parents, friends, siblings and adults: unfolding referent other importance data for adolescents', *International Journal of Psychology*, 1982.

Maccoby, E.E and Martin, J.A., 'Socialisation in the context of the family: parent child interaction', in P.H. Mussen ed., *Handbook of child psychology*, v. 4, New York, Wiley, 1983.

Patterson, G.R., *Coercive family process*, Eugene, Or., Castalia Press.

Rest, J.R. *Development in judging moral issues*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1979.

Rutter, M. *A measure of our values: goals and dilemmas in the upbringing of children*, London, Quaker Home Service, 1983.

Modernisation, Westernisation and Traditional Values: Problems for Asian Adolescents

D.M. Keats

Modernisation is a process which is both universal and relative in that wherever and whenever we consider it, what is regarded as 'modern' in one generation is sure to be regarded as traditional in the next. Furthermore, fashions come and go in all societies. It is ironic to observe in Australia some 'modern' trends such as the recent rise to popularity of acupuncture, astrology, yoga, transcendental meditation and herbal medicines, and the adoption of religious cults and styles of dress and personal adornment which are decidedly 'traditional' to modern Asian youth. Clearly, some of these 'modern' trends are mere fads but others reflect a willingness to look beyond one's own cultural origins for solutions to the dilemmas faced by many young people in Western societies. They show also the vulnerability of youth to transitory social influences. Trying out the latest fads and fashions in dress, food, music and behaviour can be merely fun and in the Australian society, it does not necessarily indicate any alienation of the young from fundamental standards of morality.

As change occurs, there will always be some whose interests are not served by the new ways and it is an almost inevitable component of social change that conflicts will arise between the traditionalists and the modernists. To some, it is temptingly persuasive to regard all social change as modernisation while to others, the very opposite seems to be true as any change is regarded as a threat to all that is traditionally valued. In the view of many parents, the young are particularly susceptible to the former opinion while in the view of many young people, parents are particularly prone to the latter.

When it is apparent to Asian parents that the new ideas and behaviours which their children are adopting are alien to them and are similar to those they read about in books written in English or see in Western films and television, and when they also see Western people in their countries behave in similar ways, they are apt to form the impression that modernisation and Westernisation are synonymous and hence equally to be rejected. The same kind of confounding appears to be present in the minds of many young people who adopt a Western fashion because of its associations rather than its suitability for Asian climates. The trivial and the significant are frequently confounded when value judgements are made about behaviour that is different from that which is traditional.

MEANING OF MODERNISATION

Theorists on the psychological processes of modernisation have put forward a number of attributes shared by 'modern man'. After a wide-ranging survey of the literature and extensive interviewing and question-

Table 1
Characteristics, Attitudes and Values of Modern Man

Readiness for new experience and openness to innovation and change.
Disposition to form or hold opinions over a large number of the problems and issues that arise not only in the immediate environment but outside of it. Orientation in the opinion realm is more democratic.
Orientation to the present or future rather than to the past. Accepts schedules of time as something sensible and appropriate, and is punctual, regular, and orderly in organising his affairs.
Oriented toward planning and organising as a way of handling life.
Believes that he can learn to dominate his environment in order to advance his own purposes and goals rather than being dominated by his environment.
Has more confidence that the world is calculable, that other people and institutions around him can be relied on to fulfil or meet their obligations and responsibilities and that the world is lawful and under human control.
Aware of the dignity of others and more disposed to show respect for them.
Faith in science and technology, even if it is a primitive faith.
Believes in distributive justice that rewards should be bestowed according to contribution and not according to whim or special attributes of the person not related to his contribution.

naire administration with over 5,000 young males in six contrasting and developing countries, namely, Argentina, Chile, Israel, India, Pakistan and Nigeria, Inkeles (Inkeles and Smith, 1974) produced a scale, the Overall Modernity (O.M.) Scale which, in both its long and short forms, has been used extensively to tap the characteristics of modern man. Inkeles' (1966) literature survey located nine groups of attitudes and values characteristic to modern man. These are shown in Table 1.
In the O.M. Scale, the 'modern' responses are shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Attitudes of Modern Man

He has an active interest in public issues.
He wants higher education for his children.
He approves of new agricultural techniques.
He prefers candidates who have special education.
He believes that hard work is important for his country's future.
He approves of science.
He approves of restricting family size.
He is interested in world news.
He believes he can understand the thinking of people who come from different places.
He is willing to acknowledge that man can be good without being religious.

Inkeles' monumental work is still a valuable description of modern man in developing countries although it has had its critics (for example, Zaidi, 1981).

Table 3
Some Feminist Life Goals

Equal opportunities for work.
Equal rewards for effort and skill.
Equal access to knowledge.
The right to be treated as a person, not a sex object possessed by men.
The right to control one's own life cycle.
The right to initiate and discontinue sexual partnerships with or without marriage.
The right to choose children or not.
Acceptance of responsibility and the confidence to speak up for themselves when they believe they should.
Autonomy in thought and decision making. Most of all, they do not want to be told by men what they should want and what is their proper behaviour.

It seems significant, however, that the work by Inkeles does not refer to modern woman. Possibly, the impact of the feminist movement was yet to be felt. Modern feminists have stressed equity in legal, financial, political, occupational and educational spheres and in relations between the sexes. The following selection in Table 3 summarises some of the most prominent views.

It will be apparent that some of these rights and freedoms are already available to some women in some Asian societies, though not to all Asian women. For some Asian women, these ideas would mean a sexual revolution which male traditionalists would vehemently oppose.

Allow me now to suggest my own list of characteristics of modernisation which apply to both men and women (Table 4). Specific references

Table 4
Some Characteristics for Being Modern

Has a sense of individual worth, self-based and autonomous.
Approves of sex-role freedom, rejecting inequality and taboos of thought and behaviour that stem from authority without rational bases.
Feels a sense of power over outcomes and over one's own destiny, including political participation.
Accepts and gains control over technological advances.
Approves of and pursues education in a wide not a narrow sense, with equality of access to knowledge and provision for those who suffer from disadvantage.
Adopts a world view in news, skills, science, entertainment, music and dress, from wherever it suits.
Accepts explanations of causality based on scientific rationality, with knowledge not sacrosanct.
Is outgoing to people of other cultures, races and ideologies, open-minded and looking for enhanced experiences through interactions with others.
Is secular in matters of morality and sees morality as a human relationship unrelated to religious beliefs.
Accepts family planning but values children who can be cared for and are wanted.
Maintains personal and public health and hygiene through cleanliness, sanitation, water control and pest control.
Is concerned for ecology, balancing the use and maintenance of natural resources so that the future is safeguarded.
Is mobile, wants to travel, seeks wider horizons and moves about without fear to distant places.
Is at home in an urban environment.
Rejects wars as solutions to social or political problems.
Approves of providing for the handicapped and disadvantaged in society.

are not cited as they are drawn from many sources but one will recognise in the list contributions from Inkeles and the feminist viewpoint, and others which have their source in the aims and ideals of WHO, Unesco and the world-wide ecology and peace movements which have been influential in the last few years. Whether one supports them or not, there is no doubt that they are the phenomena of modernism in the 1980s.

TECHNOLOGY AND VALUES

Inkeles' work preceded the great expansion of technology created by the development of computers and, in particular, the microprocessor which has brought the technological age within range of almost any city or village in Asia. Many traditional values will be affected. The coming of the computer age threatens now to put as wide a gulf between parents and children as did the gulf created by the spread of public education a generation ago. Present-day adolescents will, in the near future, have to come to terms with the power of these changes. We must accept that they will inevitably challenge some traditional beliefs and power bases.

It is hard for many people to imagine the effect the explosion of computer technology will have on the spread of information around the world. To illustrate, we take the example of the way in which the major news services of the world are being operated. For example, a leading Sydney newspaper, *Sydney Morning Herald,* reports on 27 March, 1984 that it now takes 90 seconds for a story to come from USA to Australia and with the new computerised methods of typesetting, that particular story is ready to print in 15 minutes. As more and more information is beamed in from abroad with such speed, attitudes to people and issues at home are quickly affected. The reliability of such sources becomes an important factor in developing these attitudes and hence in developing and maintaining value systems. Another example is the world of international banking. The fluctuation in rates of the dollar, yen, deutschmark, and others can affect the lives of ordinary people half a world away within seconds. Without the technology to make this happen, it might have been months before the ripple reached remoter shores. A third example is the development of computer controlled manufacturing. Robotics is the growth industry of today.

These three examples are all international rather than Western. Although their origins were Western, they are no longer exclusively so. They illustrate too the entry of Asia into the interdependence of the modern world. It is Japan which has put computers into the hands of millions of children and Hong Kong is one of the world's great banking centres. If Japanese car production or electrical appliances industries fail, millions in many countries will also lose their jobs. The manufacturing industries of Taiwan, Korea and Hong Kong affect workers in Australia, Europe and USA.

As Asian countries embrace the modern technology of business and industry, the need for trained operators becomes urgent and new kinds of skill are valued. In Hong Kong, Inkeles' modern man with a sense of time has already replaced the leisurely-paced Asian of the past and as the computerised factory replaces the unskilled workers, masses of Asian adolescents who formerly would have looked forward to becoming unskilled workers or factory hands will have no future unless they develop modern skills. The need for new kinds of skill extends to jobs of many other kinds. To maintain their traditional influence, leadership elites must either give way or acquire the new skills, as many a manager struggling with his new computerised systems well knows. The values that support the fostering of these new skills will be the ones that survive and those which try to oppose them will crumble.

EFFECTS ON ADOLESCENTS

In practice, many of these attitudes are in conflict with traditional beliefs and parental authority. Is it then possible for Asian youth to adopt modern thought and behaviours without rejecting their parents as sources of values, ideals and knowledge? Research in Malaysia (Keats, and Keats; Biddle and Banks; Hauge, R., Wan-Rafaei and Valantin, S., 1983), Thailand (Chuawanlee and Pornsrismut, 1982), and Hong Kong (Chan, 1981) all indicate that parents are, by far, the greatest influence in shaping adolescents' values and expectations, and remain so despite the increasing influences from peers and others.

Many adolescents are unable to develop effective coping techniques when they find themselves in opposition to their parental values and beliefs. Problems with parents whose expectations for their children are contrary to those of their sons or daughters are amongst the most common types of problem brought to counsellors by adolescents who seek their help.

The appeal to rational explanation rather than to norms of traditional beliefs and practice is also a potential source of conflict for adolescents growing up in environments where traditional views are entrenched in strong power bases supported through acceptance of the authority of seniority and official sanctions. It will always be hard for the young to oppose practices whose origins go back for centuries in time, even though the original rational *raison d'etre* that practices once had may have disappeared long since, leaving the practice but not the justification for it. Modernism of the above kind will find restrictions on freedom of thought and enquiry both intolerable and inefficient. If constraints on learning are imposed on modern youth, they will soon reject those who try to impose the constraints. Suppression is only effective on a short-term basis.

The adolescent girl brought up in a traditional family may suffer great anxiety when her desires are in conflict with tradition. The difficulty of attaining equality with her male siblings and schoolmates, the question of

whether she will be allowed to travel away to a distant college for further education, the problem of making her own choice in whether and whom she will marry are consuming questions for the modern adolescent girl. The amount of real freedom accorded to Asian girls in decisions on these topics has never been great. However, the modern adolescent may not only perceive this but also not accept her parents' right to limit her options. At the same time, there is also evidence of failure to cope when the constraints are suddely lifted as occurs with some female college students.

Two contrasting types of ineffective coping may be observed. For example, behaviour which 'kicks over the traces' and behaviour which becomes more traditional than before. Both of these are extreme and fail to come to grips with the real issue which often is a mixture of role identity and values clarification problems coupled with anxiety about scholastic performance. A third is the pathological response such as is seen in the cases of mass hysteria reported in Malay female students under stress before examinations (Teoh and Yeoh, 1975).

An advantage that Asian female students have over their Western counterparts is that because of the availability of domestic help, they can more readily combine the traditional roles of wife and mother with career roles. Some of the conflicts that Western girls suffer from this question may yet arise, however, as the value of mother-child bonding becomes more widely promoted. Another factor in this trend is the move to urban living and the lessening in frequency of the extended family as the norm.

SKILLS FOR COPING WITH MODERNISATION

As Asian youth strive to become modern in the above ways, it is clear that there will be many problems relating to parents and many traditional views of causality, morality, role expectations and educational goals and methods. Many traditional belief systems will be challenged and some will inevitably be set aside. This trend is inevitable for traditionalists cannot put back the lid on the Pandora's box of enlightenment.

We need therefore to assist young people to develop ways of thinking and behaving which will be effective in coping with intergenerational differences, help them to maintain an open mind to accept change and yet to be discriminating in regard to rejecting older values. Some suggestions are put forward below, based on findings from our work on values development, studies of the development of inter-personal skills (Kafer, 1983; Duck and Gilmour, 1981) and on Piaget's theory of the development of logical thinking and its application to moral development.

Table 5
Skills for Coping with Modernisation

Develop a sense of social responsibility rather than stressing individualistic goals alone.
Encourage and reward the tolerance of differences across generations and across ethnic, religious and cultural groups.
Develop self-confidence through a realistic evaluation of one's capabilities and coming to terms with oneself.
Develop tolerance of lack of closure, not forcing a conclusion or an attitude if the evidence is inadequate.
Seeing the other person's point of view.
Applying logical and rational thought to social and inter-personal problems.

In conclusion, there are four ways in which we may encourage Asian adolescents towards effective coping with the challenges of modernisation. These are:

(1) If the spread of education has provided the greater impetus to these conflicts, it can also become the means of alleviating them. It should be possible to include in the high school curriculum of every Asian country opportunities to examine these issues seriously, without exerting pressure on the adolescent to conform to any point of view, dogma, norms or values of the *status quo* simply because they have been the tradition in the past. Belief systems which cannot withstand the fresh winds of teenage skepticism can hardly have a strong foundation. For their part, the recognition of the right of others to hold views which they themselves cannot accept is equally important and in multi-cultural societies, the pursuit of tolerance must have a high priority. These are the characteristics of formal operational thought and of the type of value thinking which has been described as Level Four (Keats, 1982).

(2) It is necessary that school curricula come to terms with the new technology so that children growing up can make the transition to the acquisition of modern skills with confidence.

(3) The introduction of personal development programmes in high schools could help all young people to understand their own social and physical development and to develop effective social skills for coping with the new relationships which modernisation will bring.

(4) Finally, to assist students who are suffering in the process of transition and to help them overcome the anxieties caused by differences with their parents and traditional authorities, the development of student counselling services would be a valuable step towards better coping behaviours. It would be important that such services be

offered by trained psychologists, preferably with special training in dealing with societal as well as interpersonal problems. Malaysia has already embarked on a programme of counsellor training and it is to be hoped that this step in the right direction will continue to be strengthened with more psychologically trained counsellors in the future.

REFERENCES

Chan, J, 'Correlates of parent-child interaction and certain psychological variables among adolescents in Hong Kong' in J.L.M. Binnie-Dawson, G.H. Blowers and R. Hoosain (eds.), *Perspectives in Asian cross-cultural psychology*, Lisse, Swets and Zeitlinger B.V., 1981.

Chuawanlee, W and Pornsrismut, L, 'Family and conservation of Thai culture of mind', in P. Sukontasarp and others (eds.), *Proceedings of second Asian workshop on child and adolescent development*, Bangkok, B.S.R.I., 1982.

Duck, S and Gilmour, R (eds.), *Personal relationships*, 2 vols., London, Academic Press, 1981.

Inkeles, A., 'The modernization of man', in M. Weiner ed., *Modernization: the dynamics of growth*, New York, Basic Books, 1966.

—— and Smith, D.M., *Becoming modern*, Harvard University Press, 1974.

Kafer, N.F., 'Teaching the skills of friendship', *Australian Psychologist*, v.18, no. 2, p. 225–34.

Keats, D.M., 'The development of values: a cross-cultural approach', in P. Sukontasarp and others (eds.), *Proceedings of second Asian workshop on child and adolescent development*, Bangkok, B.S.R.I., 1982.

Keats, J.A. and others, 'Parents, friends, siblings and adults: unfolding referent other importance data for adolescents', *International Journal of Psychology*, v.18, nos. 3/4, p. 239–62.

Sandeman, J., 'New form U.S. to Sydney in just 90 seconds', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 27, March, 1984.

Teoh, J.I and Yeoh, K.L., 'Epidemic hysteria: a symptom of a conflict of a culture in transition', in I. Pilowsky (ed.), *Cultural in collision*, Adelaide, Aust. Nat. Assoc. for Mental Health, 1975.

Zaidi, S.M.H., 'Peasants in cities: assimilation of rural migrants into city culture' in J.L.M. Binnie-Dawson, G.H. Blowers and R. Hoosain (eds.), *Perspectives in Asian cross-cultural psychology*, Lisse, Swets and Zeitlinger, B.V., 1981.